The CRISIS

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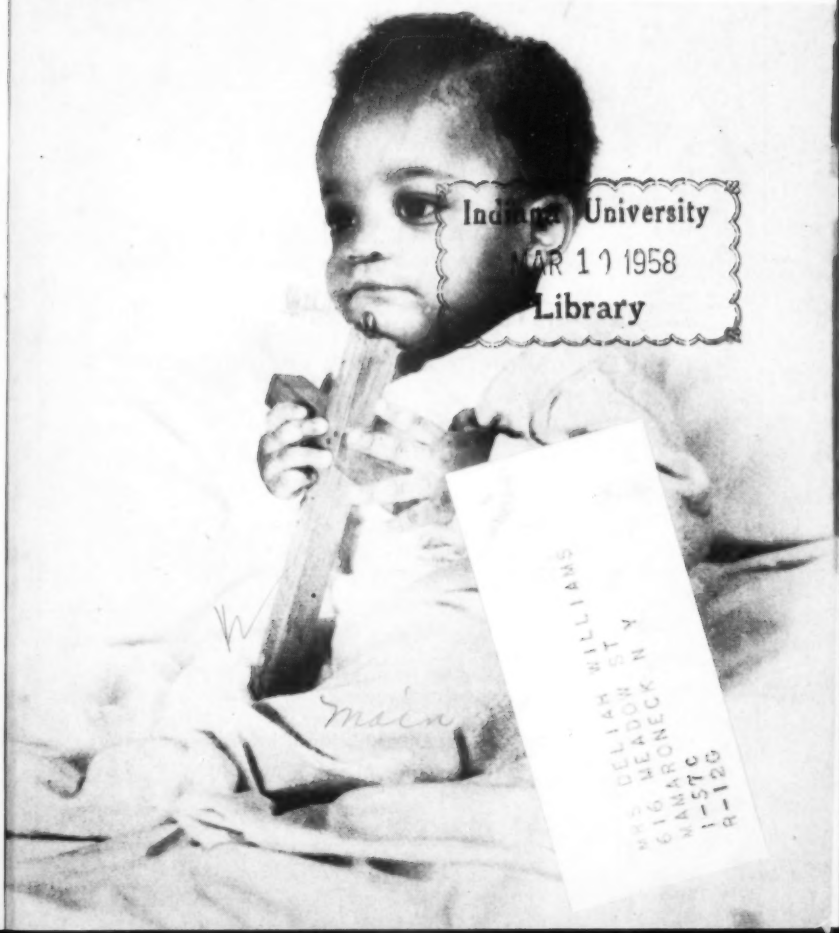

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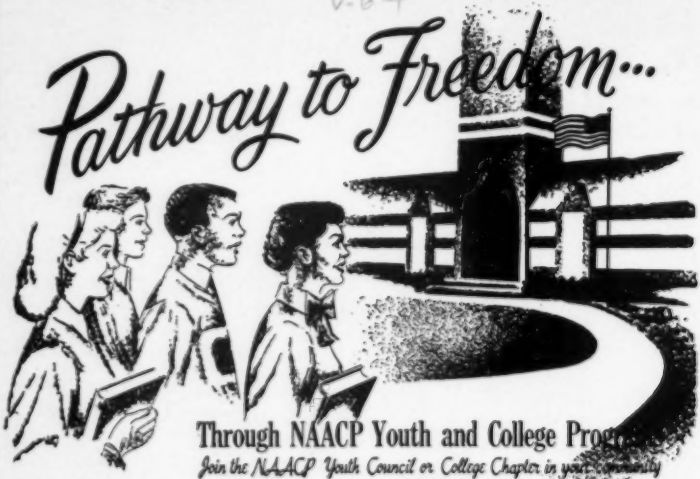

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 64, No. 1 **Whole Number 539**

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January, 1957

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Thomas Studio

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Colonel Larkland F. Hewitt, president of the Boston, Massachusetts, branch, receives, from Herman W. Carter, international representative and chairman of the civil rights committee of District #2 IUE (AFL-CIO), a $500 check for a paid-up NAACP life membership for District #2. This district, of which F. M. Kelly is president, represents over 55,000 employees in New England.*

■ **This report from The University of Michigan News Service outlines southern newspaper attitudes toward desegregation**

Crisis in the South

By Suzanne Smith

"THE crisis in the South may bring about a constitutional impasse far beyond any present reckoning, perhaps to the destruction of public education itself," the executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service said at The University of Michigan on November 12.

Don Shoemaker, speaking under the auspices of The University of Michigan department of journalism, presented a picture of the South as it stands in this third school year following the Supreme Court decision which declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Former editor of the Asheville (N.C.) *Citizen.*, he also discussed the role of the nation's press in covering the desegregation issue.

"Acting voluntarily or under court order, some 666 school districts out of 3,700 having members of both races have desegregated their schools, for the most part in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, Missouri, and Oklahoma—plus Washington, D. C.," he said.

"Out of 208 tax-supported colleges and universities in the region, 110 are open to Negroes," Shoemaker continued.

"But there is no public school desegregation of any kind in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina," Shoemaker pointed out. "In these states, together with North Carolina, Louisiana, and Virginia not a single Negro child is attending a public elementary or high school with a single white child."

Discussing opposition to desegregation, Shoemaker said:

"Five of the southern states are prepared by statute or constitutional amendment to abandon their public schools—in theory, anyway—if integration threatens. Seven of them have adopted resolutions of interposition against the authority of the federal government. When classes first were mixed this fall in some areas in Texas, Kentucky, and Tennessee there was violence, and for the first time National Guard tanks moved menacingly through sullen streets."

SUZANNE SMITH *is a staff member of The University of Michigan News Service, Ann Arbor.*

"In many parts of the South local and statewide councils on human relations and allied groups press gingerly for 'moderate' solutions. But in the main the resisting states are supported in their official policy by a proliferation of citizen groups, most prominently the Citizens Councils movement, organized right down to the grass roots and enlisting what may be described as the top white leadership.

"This is the setting in which some 320,000 Negro children are attending school in districts with perhaps two million white children. But it is also the scene in which perhaps 2.3 million Negroes remain segregated, along with three times their number of white children."

CLIMATE OF OPINION

So far as the press is concerned, Shoemaker said:

"The climate of white opinion may need an extended forecast but there is no mistaking the present condition. Nor is it surprising that most of the daily press has become a weather vane of mid-South and Deep South attitudes.

"For example, of the 38 papers of largest circulation in the South as listed in the *World Almanac* there are only about a dozen whose editorial policies could be regarded as 'not hostile' to desegregation. Of these dozen, all but two are in the upper South or border states. Divining editorial positions is always a risky thing, but it might be said also that no single large daily has come right out bare-faced in the past year to advocate immediate compliance. The reverse of course is true of the Negro press, which, however, boasts only one daily newspaper for its race in the area.

"Coverage of segregation-desegregation news is quite another matter, if we accept coverage as a gage of interest in the subject.

"In the first months following the 1954 Supreme Court decision there was a tendency to accent instances of violence, as in the Baltimore, the Milford, Delaware, and the Greenbrier county, West Virginia disturbances.

"No indictment is meant here, however. In the first place it may be assumed that many papers reacted at first as did much of the white population: the idea of integrating the schools was the chimera of a court conveniently a thousand miles away; in other words, it couldn't, and wouldn't, happen here. In the second place, accenting violence as against tranquility is a well-known and human hallmark of American journalism: who wants to read how the airliner carrying 15 children, four pregnant women, a paralyzed grandmother, a day-old bride and cabinet officer, among others, took off in clear weather and landed without incident?

"Yet there was a real story in some of the effortless desegregation accomplished then and later, just as there was a real story in the Citizens Council and other resistance groups. We covered both stories in detail; many newspapers used and are still using our news releases. Objectivity in news columns is clearly on the rise, and even in papers which tend to blow their tops in the editorial columns.

"It is my guess that, based only on the key, large newspapers repre-

sented in our files, in excess to 15 million words have appeared in the southern press on school segregation-desegregation since mid-1954. Multiply this by ten and you get a stick of type that would reach from primeval chaos to the day of judgment — as someone once defined the boundaries of the United States east and west. Clearly there has been no want of spot information.

"The subject also has beguiled the northern press. We do not keep books on the Yankees, so I have no estimates to offer. But enterprising journalists beyond the confines of the Confederacy have had a field day with this story.

NORTHERN METHOD

"It has been said that the traditional northern method of 'covering' the South is to move on down, somewhat in force, pitch a brick over the wall, and then run. This technique has been abandoned, or nearly so.

"It seems to me that the 'foreign' press has begun covering this story with greater sensitivity to its volcanic issues and a stronger application of fact. This is noticeable also in the candor with which northern newspapers have begun to discuss their own racial problems.

"All of this may betray a guilt complex, but it is presented here as a new dimension which objectivity has brought to inter-regional journalism. Whatever opinions one holds to, North or South, it is undeniable that we know more about one another than we did a half decade ago."

Explaining the workings of the Southern Education Reporting Service (SERS), Shoemaker said it has been called "an unique experiment in journalism. It is an objective, fact-finding agency established by southern newspaper editors and educators to provide accurate, unbiased information on developments in education arising from the Supreme Court opinion of 1954."

"SERS found its voice in *Southern School News*," Shoemaker continued, "and we focus on one common point—that is to tell the story without bias or coloration and to be acceptable in the sight of Southerners of all persuasions."

Because of this objectivity, SERS is often asked to "Please state which end you are working for—you are not definite."

Shoemaker defines the "end" of SERS as being "simply to communicate where too many bridges are down. The crisis of the modern South is its most severe in a century," he concluded, "and where there is crisis there is emotion which destroys reason at both bridgeheads."

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"

—Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

Special awards winners for outstanding NAACP work at 13th North Carolina convention in Winston-Salem, N. C.

J. B. Havren

Club Twenty-One presents initial $200 NAACP life membership payment to Dauphin county, Penn., branch. Pictured (from L) are Rev. James Clement, club vice-president, William Reeves, and branch president Dr. George Jones.

Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, shown with Shirley James, president N. C. youth councils and college chapters, at 13th North Carolina convention in Winston-Salem.

Ann Brown, basileus of Alpha Alpha chapter of Chi Pi Omega sorority, presents initial NAACP life membership payment for her organization to Rev. B. R. Riley, president of the Dallas, Texas, branch.

Albert Walker (center), chairman of welfare committee of Cavaliers Club, Columbus, Ohio, presents check for NAACP life membership to Rev. John Quick, president of Columbus branch, while club secretary Collins Haynesworth looks on.

North Carolina NAACP state conference president Kelly Alexander (L) receives a $505.90 donation from president T. H. Leonard of the Asheville branch to NAACP freedom fund.

Harren's Photo

NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins speaks at Jackson-Memorial-Tinsley testimonial dinner in Richmond, Virginia, last October.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP —*The Rev. R. C. Eberhart (R), pastor of the Duquesne AME church, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, pays first installment on NAACP life membership for AME Ministers Conference to Rev. Charles Foggie, pastor of the Wesley Centre AME Zion church and also president of the Pittsburgh branch. Rev. Charles S. Spivey (L), pastor of the Bethel AME Zion church and chairman of the branch housing committee, looks on.*

Harris

THE *Rev. Nicholas Hood (L), pastor of the Central Congregational church of New Orleans, Louisiana, presents $500 check for NAACP life membership to John Morsell, assistant to the NAACP executive secretary.*

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M. W. PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE, *F and AM, of the State of New York presents a $1,000 check to the Legal Research and Educational Department of the NAACP. NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall (fourth from L) receives the check.*

Joseph Sallard

DECEASED CIVIC LEADER HONORED—*Mrs. Olee L. Barbour (R), president Ruth L. Bennett Improvement Club, Inc., presents to John W. Flamer, NAACP field worker (L) a check for the initial payment of a life membership in the NAACP in memory of the late Ruth L. Bennett, founder of the Chester, Pennsylvania, branch of the Association. Mrs. Catherine Laws, wife of former Chester branch president Herman Laws, also takes out a life membership. Chester branch president George T. Raymond is second from right.*

■ How a Trinidadian views the new Negro parliament in his home country

The New Trinidadian Parliament

By Derek Ker

WHEN the People's National Movement swept thirteen of the twenty-four elected seats in the Trinidad Legislative Council at that British Colony's general elections last September 23, it heralded the birth of the first Negro Parliament in nearly 300 years of British colonial domination in the Caribbean. It seems almost incredible to imagine that Trinidad, Britain's oil-rich colonial possession, a strategic naval and aerial highway between the two great Americas, should have waited centuries before its predominantly Negro population earned the constitutional right to govern its own internal affairs.

Although vastly richer than Jamaica, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, or any other of her sister British West Indian colonies, Trinidad, nevertheless, groped for decades in political decadence. Lack of unity among its Negro population offered ample scope for her British masters to drive a wedge between Negroes and East Indians—the other big minority group in Trinidad. In such a setting the old colonial slogan of divide and rule played havoc with what little political aspiration the natives possessed.

Visitors to Trinidad have invariably found the same situation: a country of tremendous mineral resources and agricultural products, principally sugar cane and cocoa, but at the same time a monument of political backwardness.

It was with the fullest knowledge that such an unenviable political background existed that nine short months before the general elections Eric Eustace Williams, Island scholar, philosopher and orator, himself a native Trinidad Negro, conceived the idea of forming the People's National Movement.

DEREK KER *is the pen name of a Trinidadian journalist now resident in this country.*

Dr. Williams decided that first priority was the political education of the natives, and in the early stages he set about to implement these ideas single handedly. The little doctor, who outwardly looks like a dignified and polished college professor, is a veritable dynamo when he gets talking to the people at the "University of Woodford Square" where he established the seat of his political faculty. (Woodford Square which is situated in the heart of the capital city of Port of Spain, is the counterpart of Britain's famed Hyde Park).

The natives whom Dr. Williams sought to educate had little or no qualms about his great sincerity of purpose, although they had been betrayed so often in the past by demagogues interested only in their personal aggrandizement.

RESOURCEFUL LEADER

With "Little Eric" it was a different matter. Here was a man who had resigned a $1,200 per month tax free job as deputy chairman of the Caribbean Research Council (a body set up by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Holland, to look after the welfare of their Caribbean colonies) to fight for political freedom for his fellow countrymen.

Dr. Williams first told the people the reasons for his quitting the Caribbean Commission job. First and foremost he always yearned to rescue the people of Trinidad and Tobago from their political and economic plight. His relations with the Caribbean Commission worsened as that body sought to censor his speeches in the "University of Woodford Square."

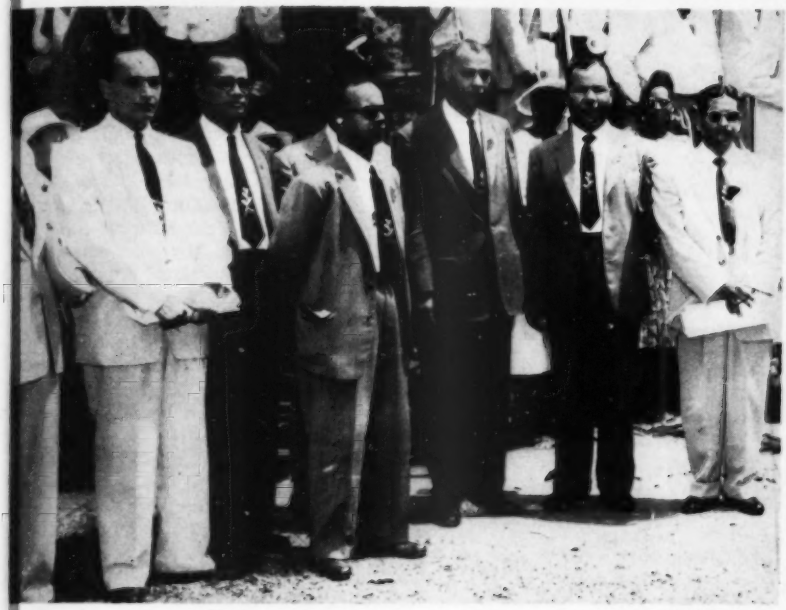
He was next in line to be chairman of the Commission by its system of rotation, but he was certain that he would never be appointed to that post, since he was a Negro.

It did not take Dr. Williams long with his gift of oratory, his scholarship, his tremendous knowledge of the political, economic and historical background of the British West Indies in particular, and the world in general, to make himself an outstanding public figure throughout the length and breadth of Trinidad and its island ward of Tobago. His glib tongue and bitter attacks on the then Administration fired the imaginations of native Negroes as well as all other sections in Trinidad's cosmopolitan community.

While riding on a wave of popularity, Dr. Williams announced the formation of the People's National Movement, which in the broad sense of the word had committed itself to the task of achieving a better Trinidad for the people. Dr. Williams, leader and founder of the P.N.M., publicly declared that his party was not preaching racialism, since it was convinced that men and women of all nationalities in Trinidad could live together in peace and harmony.

Such was not the platform of the People's Democratic Party, chief opponents of the P.N.M. in a bitterly contested general election. Led by a wealthy Hindu real estate magnate who bought the deactivated U.S.A. Army base at Docksite, Port of Spain, after World War II, for $80,000 and sold it for a half million dollars, the P.D.P. convinced most of Trinidad's East Indians that segregation was the key to their success.

As against this policy of segrega-



H. Thorne

TRINIDADIAN MINISTERS *pictured here (from L) are John O'Halloran (partially hidden), Gerard Montano, C. A. Thomasos (hidden), L. N. Constantine, Dr. Eric Williams (chief minister), Dr. P. Solomon, Donald Granado, and Kamaluddin Mohammed.*

tion this is the platform that the People's National Movement stood for, politically:

(1) A British Caribbean Federation with dominion status in not more than five years after its establishment.

(2) Eradication of graft, corruption, and dishonesty from public life.

(3) Elimination of racial and other forms of discrimination from our society and promotion of interracial solidarity, inviting all sections of the community, irrespective of race, class color or creed, to work for the commonwealth.

(4) Promotion of the political education of the people.

Socially:

(1) Adoption of international standards worked out for all categories of workers.

(2) Provision of more and better houses, schools and social services for the population.

Economically:

(1) Reorganization of the econ-

omy to make the fullest use of all the resources of Trinidad and Tobago, both physical and human.

Outlining the political program of the P.N.M., Dr. Williams told a mammoth crowd at Woodford Square: "One of the most portentous facts in the modern world is the total repudiation of imperialism, and racial inequality in Asia and in North Africa and West Africa, and the open revolt against them in East Africa. In the world conflict between East and West, the African and Asian countries which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism stand as a third force, a beacon to the countries not yet emancipated.

"In the British Commonwealth itself Mr. Nehru in India, Mr. Nkrumah in the Gold Coast, Dr. Azikiwe in Nigeria tower as symbols of the new spirit of racial equality challenging the old forces of racial inequality personified by Dr. Malan in South Africa. This new chapter in human history was dramatized by the conference of twenty-nine Asian and African nations convened in April 1955 in Bandung in Indonesia.

BANDUNG CONFERENCE

"The significance of the Bandung Conference for the people of Trinidad and Tobago is racial as well as political. Our diverse population includes large numbers of African and Asian peoples, Indians and Negroes. United by the common bond of oppression favored by the sugar industry, which has consistently pursued towards them a policy of divide and rule, these two racial groups make of Trinidad and Tobago a microcosm of the new political grouping which emerged in Bandung. The People's National Movement in its struggle to wipe out racialism in all forms and to promote unity among all groups, dedicates itself particularly to the promotion of African-Asian unity on political, social and economic objectives and to the cultivation of the spirit developed around the conference table in Bandung on the sugar plantations in Trinidad.

"The P.N.M. therefore uncompromisingly repudiates imperialism, colonialism and racialism in every shape and form with their evils of corruption in government, appointed stooges in the legislature, and political illiteracy of the people."

Dr. Williams and his P.N.M. candidates for legislative honors went to every nook and corner of Trinidad and Tobago in the nine months that preceded the elections. Their campaigning had the desired effect. It aroused the people of Trinidad and Tobago from their state of political lethargy and filled them with a sense of political awareness and civic responsibility they never had before.

On election day thirteen of the twenty-four contested seats to the Colony's Parliament were swept by the P.N.M. Five constituencies where the East Indian population was the dominant factor were captured by the People's Democratic Party; Uriah Butler, a fiery and illiterate demogogue who identified himself in the 1937 uprising in the Trinidad oil fields when the workers clamored for higher wages, regained his seat, and two members of his party followed him to the House. The Trinidad Labor Party won a solitary seat and two independents

(*Continued on page* 63)

■ **Racial discrimination has increased in England to the point where legislation is needed as a curb**

English Racial Discrimination

By Stan Grant

INCREASING racial discrimination in England provoked the recent conferences at Beaver Hall in London to discuss what to do about the problem. Discussions at the conference were in four stages. Chairman of the first and second stages was Fenner Brockway, M.P. (commonly dubbed "member for colored peoples in the House of Commons"). The issues were presented by Charles Ward from Trinidad. Essentially the problem is one involving the immigration of nonwhites into the British Isles—West Indians and Africans principally and the increased racial discrimination which has resulted from their presence.

The discussion revealed the need for racial discrimination legislation making it illegal for persons to discriminate against any person on the grounds of race or color or religion in the United Kingdom. Fenner Brockway now has a bill before the British Parliament to outlaw racial discrimination, supported by eleven members of Parliament.

Here are the paragraphs of the bill:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. (Definition of discrimination). For the purpose of this Act, a person exercises discrimination where he refuses, withholds from or denies to any other person facilities or advantages on the ground of the color, race or religion of that other person.

2. No person shall be entitled to exercise racial discrimination in pursuance of any of the following occupations:

(a) Innkeeper.

(b) Keeper of a common lodging house.

STAN GRANT, *a Jamaican, is European correspondent for West Indian and American newspapers and magazines.*

Ola George

STAN GRANT *(center), executive secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appears to be in complete accord with British members of Parliament (from L) Maurice Orbach, Julius Silverman, Genner Brockway, and Harry Knight of the Association of Supervisory Staffs and Engineering Technicians in discussing phases of the Racial Discrimination Act now before the British Parliament.*

(c) Keeper of a restaurant, cafe or other place kept or used for the sale of food or drink to the public.

(d) Keeper of any place kept or used for public dancing, singing, music or any public entertainment of the like kind.

3. Any covenant or provision in any lease or agreement for or in consideration of or collateral to a lease (whether made before or after the passing of this Act) forbidding or tending to forbid the use or occupation of any premises on any such ground as aforesaid shall be void.

4. (Employment and Promotion). No person who employs fifty or more persons in any industry, trade or business shall be entitled on any such ground as aforesaid to refuse to employ or to promote or to terminate the employment or promotion of any person, and no persons shall be entitled on any such ground to act in consort to refuse to consent to such employment or promotion or to

terminate the same.

5. No person shall be entitled on any such grounds as aforesaid to employ any person at less than the standard rate of wages and conditions for his grade of work.

6. (Penalties). Any person who commits a breach of this Act shall be guilty of an offence punishable, in the case of the first offence, to a fine not exceeding five pounds, and, in the case of a subsequent conviction, to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds, and any person who suffers damages in consequence of such action shall be entitled to recover against him damages in a civil action.

7. (Withdrawal of License). Any person who commits a breach of this Act in the course of conducting an activity for which any license or registration is required may be refused a renewal of or deprived of his license or registration by the licensing or registration authority.

Final stages of the conference centered around solutions. All stages were open to the audience for questions and answers. The writer, who recently resigned from the pressure of work as secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke to the conference. He welcomed the legislation, but warned that if a genuine change of heart is not forthcoming from the British man-in-the-street the situation will worsen. He decried the color patronization and requested understanding and sympathy. To illustrate, he mentioned a good friend of his, a lady of high title, free of color prejudice, who continuously refers to colored Britishers as "Our colonial subjects" or to "Our colony in the West Indies," not knowing that such talk is offensive to West Indians.

Join the NAACP's fight for equality of job opportunity, freedom of residence, racial integration in the public schools, abolition of jim crow in transportation, abolition of race discrimination in places of public accommodation, and free access to non-segregated health services.

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Nevada's first NAACP life member, Mrs. Alfred O. Smith (L) presents her check for $50 to Mrs. U. S. Woodard, membership chairman of the Reno-Sparks branch.

West Virginia state organizer, G. William Dunn III, looks on as Rev. Robert Watson (second from L), president of the Greenbrier county branch, receives a check from Mrs. Robert P. Carter as initial payment on NAACP life membership.

Mrs. Hazelle Ferguson, chairman of the NAACP Girl Friends Fund, presents a check from the Boston, Mass. Girl Friends to Atty. John T. Lane, chairman of the Boston branch NAACP life membership committee.

Mrs. Dorothy McCree presents $100 check as initial payment on NAACP life membership for The Cosmopolitan Club of Tulsa, Okla., to Tulsa branch president Victor Hodge while Franklin Thomas looks on.

Montgomery county (Maryland) branch president Rev. S. P. Manning (L) accepts an NAACP life membership check from Robert Hill.

The Paterson, N. J., branch celebrates 1954 Supreme Court decision with an NAACP Victory Dinner.

Guest speaker Rev. James Hinton (second from R), South Carolina NAACP state conference president, was feted at second annual luncheon sponsored by Harlem businessmen and community leaders for NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Also pictured is NAACP board chairman Dr. Channing Tobias (L), Joseph Davis, Carver Federal Savings and Loan, Thurgood Marshall, and Jack Blumstein.

The Brownie Troop of Mount Olivert Baptist church, Petersburg, Va., purchases $10 membership in Petersburg branch through little Delores Massey from William Diamond, membership chairman, as troop leader Mrs. E. B. Taylor looks on.

NAACP Christmas seal solicitors' table of the Morris county, N. J. branch was manned by James Ellison and Zorona Toran of Morristown.

Layne's Studio

CLUB ANSWERS NAACP APPEAL—*New York chapter of national Smart Set Clubs has added its name to the growing list of clubs subscribing to NAACP life memberships. Pictured here are representatives of newly-formed NAACP Greater New York Life Membership Committee and representatives of Smart Set Club: (Seated, back row from L) Mrs. Julia Bates, Manhattan Smart Set; Mrs. Olive Campbell, West Chester; Wilhelmina Adams, Manhattan; Mrs. Grace Fenderson, Newark; Mrs. Edith Boyd, Manhattan Smart Set; and Wiley Simmons, Manhattan. Francis Hoggard (L), Newark, looks on as Mrs. Mai Morson, Jamaica, presents club check to Marion Stewart of NAACP life membership campaign.*

Prize winners in the Erie, Pa., membership campaign were (from L) Jesse Thompson, Ben Amos, Frances McIntosh, Kate Buczek, Esther Blanchard, and Leon Davis. Not pictured are Bernice Akens and Rev. J. D. Myers.

Looking and Listening . . .

"SEQUEL TO SEGREGATION"

RICHARD B. STOLLEY reports in *Life* (December 10, 1956) on what happened to Willie and Allie Lee Causey, Shady Grove, Alabama, after their story was reported in the fourth installment of *Life's* (September 24, 1956) series on segregation. Willie Causey lost his livelihood as a woodcutter and farmer, and his wife, Allie Lee Causey, lost her job in the Shady Grove School. Although Causey had lived in Choctaw county for "many years and was remembered with fondness and respect by many white people," he now found that both he and his family were not wanted. So the Causeys, with sadness in their hearts, moved away from Choctaw county.

Today all that remains of Willie and Allie Lee Causey in Choctaw county is their empty house on the hill. Its littered rooms testify to the haste in which its owners left. On the front stoop lies a discarded brown-skinned doll staring vacantly into the empty yard. The garden is untidy. Its vegetables rot in the ground. On a bare bedroom wall between two windows hangs a calendar, still turned to the month of September. No one thought to turn it to October. It is the month the Causeys hope someday to forget.

Life says that the "Causey family, with the help of *Life*, was resettled in a place of its own choosing in another part of the South."

CIVIL RIGHTS

THERE is progress, though slow, on the civil-rights front in the State of Connecticut as the following items from the *Civil Rights Bulletin* of the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights attest:

In Stamford there is a Human Relations Committee affiliated with the Stamford Community Council. This committee has sponsored film forums in co-operation with the Stamford library. They have held a seminar on civil rights and have placed our exhibit in banks and other business places. They made arrangements for a local person to send us clippings about civil rights, intergroup relations and related matters from area newspapers.

* * * *

Labor support was instrumental in securing fair employment legislation in Connecticut. At a recent state convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, President Collins stated: 'I recommend that the following program be adopted by this convention to further the cause of Civil Rights in Connecticut . . .

'It should be recognized that while considerable progress has been made in Connecticut to end discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin, much still needs to be done to bring about greater integration in housing to open up greater job opportunities for members of minority groups in skilled ocupations and to encourage training therefore and to carry on edu-

cational activities among union members and others to eradicate racial and religious prejudice.

The C. F. of L.'s Civil Rights Committee should assume the responsibility for taking the lead in these efforts, but recognize that it is advisable to work and co-operate with the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, the Connecticut Committee on Civil Rights and other non-Communist organizations.'

In furtherance of these statements the convention adopted "Resolution No. 26 Civil Rights." . . .

HOUSING

WHERE do Negroes want to live? They want to live where they can afford to live, according to the findings of the *Catholic Digest* survey of the race problem in the United States. In the seventh article of the series, *Catholic Digest* (December, 1956) reports:

When someone says, 'Negroes want to move into white neighborhoods,' someone else always answers, 'No, Negroes are happier living near other Negroes.' Most of us have heard both opinions. Which is true?

Neither. That's what a public-opinion research agency, Ben Gaffin & Associates, discovered when it conducted its door-to-door survey in the race question for *The Catholic Digest*. An overwhelming majority of Negroes say that it doesn't matter!

"Do you think that most Negroes want to live in white neighborhoods or in Negro neighborhoods or that it doesn't matter to them?"

Negroes want to live—	WHITES No.	So.	NEGROES
Among whites	20%	12%	6%
Among Negroes	44	74	19
Doesn't matter	28	10	68

The Catholic Digest survey showed that there are many misunderstandings about the race question. This is one example. Almost half the northern whites, and three out of four southern whites, think that Negroes like living in Negro neighborhoods. Yet only one out of five Negroes actually does like it. Negro opinion contradicts both the idea that Negroes prefer segregation and the opposite idea that they are trying to take over white neighborhoods.

Seven out of ten Negroes say that it doesn't matter where they live. What they want is simply what everybody else wants—a chance to live where they please.

Although many Negroes still have substandard incomes, Negro income as a whole has soared 350 per cent in the 20 years since 1936. Many Negroes can now afford luxuries, but their increased buying power has had little effect on their ability to buy homes of their own choosing. When a white couple goes house hunting, their choice is restricted only by taste and pocketbook. A Negro couple must scan the want ads with wary eyes. That neighborhood—that one and that one—they're out, right from the start. Only whites can live there. . . .

There is a great contrast between northern and southern white opinion on this question. But a majority of both groups definitely favor separate projects. Negroes, just as definitely, desire such housing projects to be occupied by both races.

Practically speaking, if a Negro were offered the choice between a slum and a new but segregated housing project, he would choose the project. But he goes to the project, as he went to the slum, because there is no other place for him to go. What he really wants is freedom of choice. A project "for Negroes only" is just one more restriction on his freedom. It is a white man telling him again to live here, not there. . . .

SLUM CLEARANCE

THIS housing note comes from H. B. English of Columbus, Ohio:

In Columbus, Ohio, a slum clearance project is trying to relocate the ousted inhabitants. They have found 40 rentals available for 283 Negro families, 155 rentals available for five white families. That is a possible 31 homes for each white family, one seventh of a home for each Negro family. A poor white family thus has over 200 times as good a chance at a new home as the Negro.

JAMAICANS RETURN

THE BEACON (October 27, 1956) quotes an article from *Reynolds News* on the sailing of Jamaican men and women from "Southampton for home, unemployment and possible poverty. Migrants in Britain less than three years ago, they left on the 12,000-ton Italian liner Irpinia with radiograms, carpets, washing bowls, pots and pans heaped in the hold, and with few regrets at leaving England." The story continues:

Another 400 have booked passages—average cost £71—back to their homes in the West Indies for sailings next month. Hundreds more will return after Christmas.

Wynford Brown, returning to Kingston, Jamaica after two years in Wolverhampton, explained: 'There is money and jobs for West Indians in England. There is also hard work and high taxation.'

Brown, who is 28, has no job to go back to in Kingston. Apart from extra clothes, he is no wealthier now than when he emigrated to Britain.

He told me: 'All my savings apart from a few pounds have gone for my return ticket.'

But his travelling companion, 46-year-old Obadiah Williams, had a short-wave radio, two carpets, an electric fan, a tea service and a carpet sweeper crated in the hold. They were his material rewards for 18 months work in a Birmingham factory.

Obadiah said: "I am going back because I have a wife and seven children in Kingston. England has treated me fine but I am homesick."

Most of the returning West Indians had to pay excess baggage rates ranging from £10 to £40. Pounds of paper packages, cardboard boxes and crudely strung bundles littered the Irpinia's deck.

But few of the men and women who were turning their backs on Britain admitted they had saved money to take home.

Commented Mr. G. Jeremiah, Trinidad-born Colonial Office welfare officer: West Indians are natural travelers. They carry their worldly wealth with them and accept life as it comes.

"Some of these men and women will be working in other countries in a few months' time."

Lydia Judd, aged 23, after only seven months away from Jamaica spoke bitterly of the color bar humiliations she had suffered. . . .

AFRICAN COLOR BAR

THAT African labor is exploited and woefully underpaid is, of course, no secret. But African wage differentials do not often get reported outside the colonies. According to *The Beacon* (Brigdetown, Barbados, November 3, 1956), an African railworker in Rhodesia is paid £4 15s a month ($13.40) a month. The European worker is paid 65s a month

($185.25). Dixon Konkola, president of the Railway African Workers Union, says: "We do not want the European to earn less. We want the African to earn more."

"BLACK" BLOOD

THE "black" blood nonsense, only recently abandoned by the American Red Cross, is apparently being accepted as scientific fact by the South African Medical Association. Last October SAMA recommended that blood for transfusion should be labeled "white" or "black" according to the race of the donor. Immediately, nearly two hundred medical students at Capetown University passed a resolution expressing concern at SAMA's recommendation, since there is no scientific justification for differentation.

But the medical students reckoned without one of their elders, the learned Dr. A. Zoutendyk, head of the blood research group of the South African Institute of Medical Research. Dr. Zoutendyk says there is "scientific justification" for "blood apartheid." Here is part of the story as reported by the *Cape Times* (October 3, 1956):

Dr. Zoutendyk stated recently that it would be sounder practice to use, whenever possible, African blood for African patients and European blood for Europeans. This distinction, however, was scientific, and in the interests of the patient, and not for any political or sentimental reasons.

He said that there were characteristic differences between Native blood just as there were differences between the bloods of various white races. 'It might even be said that there is *apartheid* in the family, because it is accepted that blood should never be given from husband to a wife, except in dire emergency.

'He might transmit some factor to her baby, a factor she did not possess with possible complications such as the well known Rh baby—some factor that may even be unknown at present. . . .'

Discussing other blood differences, Dr. Zoutendyk said that not all factors were known and it was probably sounder practice to keep, as far as possible, to race-to-race transfusions because this did at least eliminate a proportion of racial differences. . . .

A Cape Town pathologist, active in blood group work, told me the draft regulations, if they became law, would do nothing more than to make compulsory, practices which had been observed by all transfusion services throughout the country since their inception—and which took into account the prejudices of South Africans.

The draft regulations sought merely to make it compulsory for the racial origin of a donor to appear on the label of a bottle of blood.

There was no question of making it compulsory that the blood of a European should be given only to a European, and of a non-European only to non-European.

He agreed that there was "some scientific reason" why blood transfusions on a large scale from one racial group to another might be unwise. . . .

COMPOUNDS FOR WOMEN

BETHAL is a farming district in the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa, where they grow potatoes. It is notorious for the way white farmers beat up African workers. To Africans it is a name of terror, and they have tagged the more sadistic farmers with such nicknames as *Mabulala* (The Killer) and *Fake-*

futheni (Hit him in the marrow). Though Bethal was investigated in 1952 by the magazine *Drum*, the floggings and tortures still go on.

Root of the trouble is the contract system which binds African laborers to their employers for six months or more. In South Africa the law severely punishes Africans who break their contract. And at Bethal, as in most of South Africa, Africans are tricked into signing contracts which they do not understand.

Bethal has always had filthy compounds for men, but now Bethal has established compounds for African women and young girls. We quote parts of a new Bethal investigation made by Makiwane and Gert Sibande as reported in the *New Age* (Capetown, October 11, 1956):

Bethal is an old, savage story. It has been going on for years. But on our trip to Bethal a fortnight ago we found a new evil, the story of which, we believe, has not been told before.

In the district, apart from the usual closed compounds for the farm laborers, we found special compounds for African women and young girls. These are the new labor recruits. Some look about 15, some might even be younger.

We had two such compounds pointed out to us; and we went inside one. We also spoke to girl recruits along the roadside. And people spoke to us about them.

The girls and young women are recruited mainly from Pokwana on the borders of Sekukuniland, and they are brought to the farms in lorries. Special compounds have been put aside for them. The women are on six months' contract. If there is no more work at the end of that period, they are sent home.

The work they are given varies. They have to hoe the fields, clear away dry mealie stalks, but mainly, dig out potatoes. Their wages range from £1 to £2 5s. ($2.85 to $3.55) a month. Some said they were not told their rates of pay are given an amount fixed by the farmer at the end of the contract period.

In the one compound we saw 19 women sleep. The compounds are the usualy disgraceful barracks: smoke-filled when fires are made inside them, mud floors, no beds.

One of the greatest evils, said men to whom we talked, was the fact that men laborers make these women's compounds their dens. 'It is like letting ewes in among rams,' said one.

Why women now in Bethal and district? It's the old story of the whip-farmers never getting enough labor.

It is no longer so easy to get workers from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland: those sources are drying up. The farmers are relying more and more on shanghaied or recruited labor from the cities, and compounds have to be policed more closely than ever to stop desertions.

So the hunt for laborers goes on, night and day. The labour bureaus do what they can and farmers' lorries come regularly to all the depots to pick up their labor. But still not enough: so now women are recruited, many still juveniles.

Much of the Bethal story is the same, some has become worse with the passing of the years.

There is fear everywhere. It can be felt. . . .

The story is one of daily beatings, of forced labor and contracts, policed compounds and crushing working conditions. To some it is a story of no return.

The police station, which should be an aid to those trying to get redress against assaults and beatings, is a place of fear to the people. The police are themselves raiding for passes and beer

on the farms and in the compounds, and this is a new harshness, the people say.

Natal Police Raid Newspaper Office

DURBAN, December 8.—Detectives from the special branch of the South African Criminal Investigation Department to-day entered the Natal branch offices of the Cape Town weekly newspaper *New Age* and seized documents, files, letters, pamphlets and magazines.—Reuter.

THE OBSERVER 12/9/56
LONDON, ENGLAND

"KRAAL-RELATIONSHIPS"

DER SPIEGEL (Hamburg, Germany, October 24, 1956), a sort of German *Newsweek*, carries a colored cover of Richard Wright, with the caption "Kraal-Relationships," and a five-page article-review of *Schwarze Macht, Onkel Toms Kinder*, and *Ich Negerjunge*, which are, respectively, the German versions of Mr. Wright's *Black Power, Uncle Tom's Children*, and *Black Boy*. Emphasis in the article, which is titled "Uncle Tom is Dead," is on Mr. Wright's disillusionment with Africa:

The author, who had applied all the muscles and fibers of his black body to the liberation of Negroes, started on a trip to the land of his forebears. Now in the fifth decade of his life, he suddenly realized: 'I am African after all! I am of African descent. . . . According to the common notions of "race' something of 'me' would have to exist down there in Africa.'

Yet this Black Man from the White West, this energetic pioneer of Negro emancipation, felt in the 'land of his ancestors' like a stranger in a strange world. He noted, bewildered: 'The kaleidoscope of sea, jungle, nudity, clay huts, and thronged market places brought me into a deeper conflict than I had realized. Instinctively I protested against everything I saw.'

Mr. Wright finally has to realize 'that I would never feel one with the Africans on the basis of *race*. . . . I was black and they were black, but my black color was no help. . . .'

Herbert Kaufman also reviews *Schwarze Macht* in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (November 10, 1956):

For fifty-one years the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation paid fifty-eight percent dividends a year on the Gold Coast. The American Negro, Richard Wright, who is living in Paris, an intellectual, materialist, and former Communist, deals with this land which is now called Ghana. He uses his analysis for the historical representation of the Marxist interpretation of history. He illustrates the mental-religious complex by applying Freudian psychology. He draws his perspicacious conclusions after a three-months sojourn on the Gold Coast and after a rather extensive study of the pertinent literature.

Mr. Wright considers himself—and rightly so—as a member of the Western World. On this trip his race was rather a handicap than a help. . . .

What Mr. Wright passes over in silence or disputes is the fact that there were many white men and women, and there still are (Père de Foucauld and Albert Schweitzer), whose noble and unselfish motives cannot be questioned. A contribution from the West can and must come from their spirit and from that of David Stirling and from that of many unmentioned and nameless individuals.

LE CANARD ENCHAÎNÉ, NOVEMBER 7, 1956
PARIS, FRANCE

DEPOUILLEMENT

— Un bulletin blanc !

COUNTING THE VOTES IN MISSISSIPPI. THE SIGN READS "MISSISSIPPI SCHOOL" AND AN ELECTION OFFICIAL HOLDS UP A BALLOT TAKEN FROM A BALLOT BOX MARKED "COLORED MEN" WITH THE COMMENT: "A BLANK BALLOT!"

Charles Warren, Jr.

THE UNIQUE SOCIAL CLUB *of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, paid the first installment of $50 on its NAACP life membership on September 9 at membership kick-off campaign of the Milwaukee branch.* BOTTOM: *These are the Milwaukee branch campaign award winners (from L): Calvin Moody, Panca, he brought in 134 members; Fred Hickman, G. L. Glover, holds church division trophy for most members and money; Edward Hudson, Panca, holding trophy won by Greater Galilee church; Mrs. Gwendolyn Colbert, Panca; and Bezalee Martin, Panca. Pancas Joseph Spencer and Richard Sargent are not shown.*

THE BIG QUESTION TODA

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Your Fraternal Organization ha

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Kelly Alexander
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Carl Johnson
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Dr. James J. McClendon
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Send to your local branch or the

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Editorials

FORTHRIGHTNESS WINS

ONE of the major obstacles to public school desegregation in the South has been lack of forthrightness and courage on the part of local officials and citizens. The Clinton, Tennessee, fight has shown that tenacity and intelligence can conquer an ugly situation. Clinton's school authorities had set about last spring preparing the little Tennessee community (population 3,712) for enrollment of Negro pupils, about a dozen, in the local high school in September. The PTA, the service clubs, and most of the local church congregations were ready to accept racially integrated classes. The school principal, the teachers, and the pupils were prepared to accept them. And the community was going to accept desegregation, although without enthusiasm, because they had come to believe that the law was the law and must be obeyed.

What happened subsequently was similar to what happened three years ago when Milford, Delaware, integrated its school. Outside agitators moved in, bawling about mongrelization, and contaminated the community. Readers may perhaps recall that in Milford they were Bryant W. Bowles and Russell B. Bradley, both men of highly questionable background. In Clinton the trouble was whipped up almost single-handedly by one man, Frederick John Kasper. Kasper, head of the hate-mongering Seaboard White Citizens Council, is not even a Southerner. He is a "furriner" from New Jersey by way of Washington, D. C. His crackpot henchmen were Alonzo Bulloch, an itinerant backwoods preacher, and W. H. Till, head of the Clinton White Citizens Council. Kasper went from door to door telling the white citizens not to send their children to school, harangued crowds from the courthouse steps, and distributed race-inciting "flyers." A sinister aspect of the activities of these men was their attempt to link Jews and Communists, working with the NAACP, to the Supreme Court public school decision

THIS rabble-rousing, naturally, led to violence. Negro students were stoned and pelted with eggs by some of the white students, there were attacks on Negroes in passing cars, and assault upon Baptist minister Paul Turner for escorting Negro pupils into the high school as well as threats of bodily harm upon Principal David James Brittain, Jr.

Federal district Judge Robert L. Taylor then issued an injunction forbidding interference with integration in the Clinton school. When the disorders continued, despite the injunction, the school board appealed directly

to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., to help enforce integration, since "the board feels that under no circumstances should the school authorities be expected to police the carrying out of such an order. . . ." Though Mr. Brownell did nothing, so far as we know, Judge Taylor acted by signing sixteen arrest orders, which were served by the United States Marshal for East Tennessee. Fifteen persons were arrested and charged with contempt of the federal court. Their trial begins on January 28. In the meantime, school reopened with the Negro students and a reading to the student body of the Court's restraining order.

SEVERAL conclusions may be drawn from Clinton's school troubles. That the school board made a mistake when it failed to prepare parents of the surrounding countryside for integration, since a large percentage of Clinton's students come from adjacent villages and farms. That Clinton's seven-man police force was inadequate to handle the mobs, which came largely from the outside. That the mob violence suffered by the community was caused by professional rabble-rousers who entered the community just to stir up opposition. That the most resistance to desegregation came from the lower income groups, while the middle and upper classes accepted it passively because it had come by court order. That forthrightness by the federal court and federal officials can be an effective arm of good citizens who wish to obey the law. When communities decide to desegregate their schools, they must be sure that they prepare all schools patrons for the change, and that includes those who may not be living within the immediate community. There must also be machinery set up to handle professional agitators and outside busybodies.

VIOLENCE IN ALABAMA

THERE can hardly be a more tragic spectacle than the bombing of the home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Alabama, in an attempt to remove him as leader in the fight for integrated buses in that city. Alabama white supremacists must be desperate if the only answer they can find to a peaceful and legal request for compliance with the Supreme Court's decision that segregated buses are illegal is a dynamite blast. We have noted the quiet dignity and Christian courage of Negroes on TV news reports in recent bus disputes as contrasted with the bombast and incitements to violence of the white spokesmen.

THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT

"Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 24 (AP)—Ollie Mae Collins, a 15-year-old Negro girl was beaten by several white youths near a city bus stop today. . . . The beating incident was confirmed by bus passengers. . . ."

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

THE United States Court of Appeals for the fifth circuit ruled on November 30 that the federal Public Housing Administration cannot duck its responsibility as a government agency bound by statutory obligations or be excluded as a party subscribing to segregation policies which bar Negroes from local housing projects.

The ruling was rendered in a case brought by eighteen Negro families in Savannah, Georgia, who sought admittance to an all-white public housing project erected on the site of the "Old Fort," which was formerly an old Negro residential area. The Negro families had been displaced from the "Old Fort" to make way for the project. Families displaced to make way for such a project have a federal statutory preference for admission to federally-aided public housing anywhere in the city. However, Negroes were refused admission to Fred Wessels Homes, the public housing project erected on the site of the "Old Fort," solely because of their race.

While the Public Housing Administration has not been directly charged by Congress with the duty of preventing discrimination in housing project units, the Court said, the duty nevertheless stems from the requirements of the Fifth Amendment to the federal Constitution which prohibits the federal government and its agencies from segregating.

The case was originally filed with the U. S. District Court for Southern Georgia on May 20, 1954, by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund on behalf of the eighteen Negro families. Named in the suit were the PHA, the Atlanta field office director, and the Savannah Housing Authority and its officers. The suit was dismissed on October 21, 1955, on motion of the PHA and its Atlanta director on the ground, among others, that the court lacked jurisdiction and the PHA had fulfilled its statutory obligation by placing in its contract with the Savannah Housing Authority a provision regarding the statutory preferences and on the ground that the PHA had nothing to do with the segregation policy.

The court held that if the facts alleged in the complaint are proved, they "show a failure on the part of the PHA to comply with the above statutory tenant selection policy," and this would constitute a violation of plaintiffs' rights to due process under the Fifth Amendment.

"The view thus expressed is in accord with the Supreme Court decision in Bolling v. Sharpe [the Washington, D. C. School Segregation Case]," the court said. "In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the federal government."

The Court also pointed out that, although the segregation policy was initiated by the Savannah Housing Authority, it had been approved by the federal agency.

In addition, the lower court's dismissal of the action against the Savannah Housing Authority and its officers was reversed by the Court of Appeals and the entire case sent back to the lower court for trial on the merits.

THE KING AND QUEEN, *Mrs. Bernice Akins (third from L) of Erie and Father Thomas E. Little of St. Mary's Chapel of the Episcopal church, Philadelphia, of the 1956 convention of the Pennsylvania state conference of NAACP branches. They were chosen in a popularity contest conducted by NAACP branches throughout the state. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh elected the king; the smaller branches, the queen.*

Ken Scarpin

GOVERNOR LEO A. HOEGH *of Iowa becomes a member of the NAACP Looking on at the ceremonies in the governor's office are Archie M. Greenlee (center), president of the Des Moines branch, and Robert A. Wright, branch membership chairman. The governor praised the NAACP for its "fine contribution to the American principles of equal opportunity and equal justice under law."*

Youth delegates listen attentively to speakers NAACP political education forum sponsored New York City coordinating youth committee.

NAACP Legal Defense attorneys for the Negroes were Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of Legal Defense and Constance Baker Motley, both of New York, and Frank Reeves of Washington, D. C. and A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Georgia.

GOLF COURSE DECISION

THE City of Charlotte, North Carolina, lost on December 4, 1956, a five-year court battle in its efforts to prevent Negro citizens from using the City's only golf course when a superior court judge granted an injunction permanently enjoining the Charlotte Park and Recreation Commission from excluding Negroes from the Bonnie Brae links.

The injunction was sought on behalf of 16 Negroes who were refused use of the golf course in December 1951. It was issued in the more recent of two suits in which the validity of the Commission's acts was involved.

The first suit was brought by the Commission itself immediately after the Negroes protested to it. Sought in that suit was a declaratory judgment as to the validity of certain provisions in the deeds conveying the property on which the golf course is located on the condition that the land would revert if non-whites used the recreational facilities. And named as defendants, along with the land grantors, were the original Negro complainants.

Several days later the Negroes themselves filed a suit, seeking an injunction restraining the Commission from denying them use of the park on the ground that such exclusion was a denial of their constitutional rights. This suit, however, was continued pending final disposition of the earlier action and, therefore, did not come to trial until today.

In granting the injunction, Superior Court Judge Susie Sharp was not persuaded by the fact that the city possibly stands to lose one-third of the property which comprises Revolution Park because the decisions in the earlier case had sustained the validity of the reverter provision. Judge Sharp, however, delayed the effective date of the injunction for 90 days to allow the city time to acquire or regain possession of the property affected by the reverter clauses.

Appearing on behalf of the Negroes throughout the litigation were Spottswood W. Robinson, III of Richmond, Va., southeast regional counsel of the Legal Defense Fund and T. H. Wyche of Charlotte.

NAACP BAN NULL AND VOID

THE Louisiana Court of Appeals ruled on November 26 that a lower court injunction banning NAACP activities in that state was null and void and should never have been issued.

The ruling was on the technical point that since NAACP attorneys had filed a motion in the federal court last March prior to action by the state court, the latter bench had no right to hear the case and issue an

EMPLOYEES *of the Lag Drug Company, Chicago, Illinois, contribute to the NAACP. From left, are branch president Willoughby Abner, Joseph McKinney, Margaret Jones, Jeff Fletcher, and John Chaves.*

MEMBERS *of the Gardenia Social Club, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who have paid first $50 installment on their NAACP life membership.*

CAMPAIGN WINNERS *of the Charlottesville, Virginia, branch receiving their awards.*

injunction until the federal court had decided what it would do with the NAACP motion.

The state court ignored the fact that the NAACP had filed in the federal court and proceeded with a hearing, after which it issued the injunction. NAACP attorneys appealed to the state Court of Appeals.

The effect of the ruling is to place the matter where it was before the state court acted, namely, the NAACP is free to continue its activities in the state until the courts act on its petition. Attorneys for the state may or may not appeal the November 26 ruling to the state supreme court. They have ten days in which to act.

At the moment the state must now file an answer to the petition filed by the NAACP in the federal court last March 28. The federal court will then decide whether it has jurisdiction and whether it will hear the case. It may require both sides to file briefs on the question of jurisdiction and hold a hearing before rendering a decision. Or it may take jurisdiction and require the filing of briefs on the issue and then hold a hearing.

If the federal court, for any reason, should not hear the case, the matter will doubtless be brought promptly again into the state lower court

by the state attorneys and the state court could be expected to grant the injunction all over again.

This ruling means that for about a month the NAACP branches in Louisiana will be free to resume their activities while the lawyers and courts wrestle with the legal maneuvers.

VIRGINIA'S ANTI-NAACP LAWS

ON November 29 the NAACP made a frontal attack upon a package of seven anti-NAACP statutes recently enacted by the Virginia legislature when Association attorneys filed a complaint in the United States District Court in Richmond asking the Court to declare the new punitive laws unconstitutional.

The complaint, filed by Oliver W. Hill, NAACP attorney of Richmond, and Robert L. Carter of New York, NAACP general counsel, further asks

YOUNG PEOPLE *in attendance at the youth section meeting of the Ohio state NAACP conference in Dayton, September 7-9, 1956. Standing in rear (from L) are Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary; Mrs. Margaret Nash, Ohio state youth advisor; and Rebecca Currence, former president of the Ohio state youth conference.*

Collins Studio

KING AND QUEEN *of the Pennsylvania NAACP for 1956 shown after their coronation at the Association's 1956 convention in Erie, October 27, 1956. The King is Father Thomas E. Little, vicar of St. Mary's chapel of the Episcopal church in Philadelphia. The queen is Mrs. Bernice Akins of Erie.*

the court to enjoin state and local law enforcement officers from enforcing the statutes which, the complaint charges, violate the constitutional rights of citizens as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment and Article I of the U. S. Constitution.

The laws were enacted during a special session of the General Assembly last September. The openly avowed purpose of the legislation is to curb the NAACP. The laws (1) prohibit the solicitation of funds to defray the costs of litigation in anti-discrimination suits; (2) ban public advocacy of desegregation of the public schools in compliance with the Supreme Court ruling; (3) penalize attorneys who accept fees raised by persons or organizations not directly involved in the litigation; (4) restrain organizations from encouraging citizens to secure their rights in the courts; (5) forbid giving financial assistance to persons involved in law suits against the State of Virginia; (6) require a public listing of the NAACP membership in the state; and (7) demand a filing of all monies raised and expended by the NAACP in Virginia for any purpose.

The NAACP in Virginia, Attorneys Hill and Carter assert in the complaint, had raised money for legal cases and "proposes to continue to contribute, from funds solicited for the purpose, toward the expense of litigation and counsel fees" in pending desegregation cases.

Moreover, they point out, the NAACP and its members "are engaged in a legitimate activitity. They merely are seeking to secure full enforcement of constitutional rights of colored citizens to democracy's general benefit. In seeking to secure those rights in concert with other like-minded persons, plaintiffs and its members have violated no legitimate interest of the state."

The NAACP in Virginia, the complaint points out, has for many years pursued, without state interference, its objective—the abolition of compulsory racial segregation in all public facilities, institutions and services. Members and contributors to the NAACP "have sought to give aid in the

Mrs. Bertha Watts (center), 1956 NAACP Christmas seal chairman of the Columbus, Ohio, branch, flanked by last year's winners John Ellis and Mrs. Constance Tinch.

overall struggle in the United States for a society in which considerations of race and color will have no part. No questions were ever raised concerning the legality" of this activity in Virginia or elsewhere "until the Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in public schools."

Further, the complaint charges, this punitive legislation was "designed to destroy the NAACP, "and insulate continued governmental enforced school segregation against court attacks by United States citizens and residents of this state."

The NAACP attorneys have asked for an early hearing of the complaint before a three-judge district court.

GEORGIA ACTION

THE NAACP, as a non-profit organization, has been exempt from the payment of federal and state income taxes, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, observed in commenting on action by the Georgia state revenue officials who, on November 21, 1956, instituted legal action to collect such taxes from NAACP units operating in Georgia.

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins declared, "is not a profit-making organization; it is so recognized by the federal government, the governments of New York state and other states. Not until the action against our organization in Texas last month was this question ever raised. Georgia had not previously requested payment of such taxes. Nor do we believe that that state levies income taxes against the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, the Red Cross and and similar non-profit organizations. We doubt very much that Georgia requires payment of this tax by the White Citizens Councils and other race hate groups."

The action in Georgia, the NAACP leader charged, "is just another in a series of moves started in southern states for the purpose of frightening colored people into foregoing their fight for school desegregation. These states are seeking to put the NAACP out of business, thereby depriving the desegregation movements in their states of experienced and unified national leadership.

"They believe that if they can cripple the NAACP, they can then choke off their own Negro citizens through state laws, state courts, highway police, intimidation and economic pressures. They fail to recognize that this fight will go on because the colored people of the South are no longer willing to accept traditional discrimination and segregation."

ADOPT-A-BRANCH PLAN

AN adopt-a-branch plan for 1957, by which NAACP branches in the Far West would "adopt" a branch in one of the three southern states in which the NAACP has been banned, has provoked such enthusiasm that

the Palo Alto, California, branch already has "adopted" the Montgomery, Alabama, NAACP unit.

This was announced on December 6 in San Francisco by Franklin H. Williams, NAACP regional director.

Mr. Williams said the Palo Alto branch's quick action to "adopt" the Montgomery branch was taken even though complete plans for the adopt-a-branch plan have yet to be formulated.

(A letter received at NAACP national headquarters in New York from the Palo Alto branch said: "We are enclosing a check for $1,050 which represents the sum the national office would normally have received from membership dues from the Montgomery, Alabama, branch this year.")

The 1957 adopt-a-branch campaign, Mr. Williams explained, envisions NAACP branches in the West Coast region "adopting" a branch in Louisiana, Alabama or Texas, and adding the number of members in the "adopted" branch to their 1957 membership quota. Membership fees for the "adopted" branch would be paid directly to the NAACP national office by the branch which "adopted" it.

The NAACP West Coast region comprises California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and Alaska.

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What the Branches Are Doing

California: The LOS ANGELES branch committee of one hundred is nearing its goal of $10,000, according to Rev. T. M. Chambers.

The branch legal redress committee participated in the first civil rights workshop for lawyers, October 28, 1956.

Connecticut: The ANSONIA branch, with the assistance of the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission, has finally succeeded, after a long fight, in getting a Negro teacher appointed in one of the local schools. Mrs. Myrtle Vann is now a permanent substitute with a teaching assignment at the Mead school.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch reports a police killing and racial tensions resulting from housing.

On Sunday evening of October 28 two officers of the Detroit police department shot four times and killed a fifteen-year-old Negro youth in the vicinity of Rivard and East Ferry. The officers contend that the victim, Harold J. Perry, 915 Napoleon, was involved in the theft of an automobile and in the course of questioning took flight to avoid arrest.

In the investigation of this incident, the branch secretary talked with six persons who claim to have witnessed the incident, and three other persons in the neighborhood who had received firsthand reports. The testimony of all these persons substantially agree in two respects: (1) It is alleged that the youth did take flight from the scene, and (2) the officers were unnecessarily brutal in the slaying; that in fact it appeared that the slaying could have been avoided.

On Tuesday, October 30, Commissioner of Police, Edward S. Piggins, called the branch secretary to convey his deep concern, to request the aid of the branch, and to assure the branch that his office would take every necessary step to determine the facts and to take whatever action might be required thereby. The investigation by the department continues.

The branch has received many reports in recent months on the meetings of neighborhood improvement associations which indicate an increasingly grave problem with respect to the rights of Detroit Negro citizens to buy homes in so-called white neighborhoods.

In every instance our complainants have informed us that these improvement association meetings make no pretense of being really concerned about anything except to keep their communities free of Negro residents. In pursuit of this objective, they are developing a system of control against Negroes and their white members, using the techniques of spy-reporting, harassment and intimidation.

Layne's Stud

ED SULLIVAN *(R) presents 41st Spingarn Medal to John Roosevelt ("Jackie") Robinson at Spingarn award luncheon meeting, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City on December 8, 1956, while Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers (L), NAACP treasurer and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, look on.*

Minnesota: Frank Adams, president of the Minneapolis board of education, addressed the MINNEAPOLIS branch on November 18. He outlined the program of the local board, which is geared to the promotion of better curricula in the schools, improved buildings, top-notch teachers and teaching methods, and better salaries for teachers and school personnel.

New Jersey: The MORRIS COUNTY branch officially launched its annual Christmas seal drive on November 1 in the Morristown Women's Cl through an initial purchase by th mayor and outstanding local citizen

The following people participated i the launching: Mayor J. Raymon Manahan, Mrs. H. B. Cannon, Mr J. Paul Kelly, Mrs. Benjamin Frankl III (New Vernon), Mrs. L. E. Baxte (Bernardsville), Mrs. H. Fenwick (Be nardsville), and E. F. Stevenson.

Members of the branch youth grou

Layne's Studio

WHILE NAACP *president Arthur Spingarn (R) has a lively chat at the Spingarn award luncheon with Mrs. "Jackie" Robinson, her husband listens to TV's Ed Sullivan.*

served as solicitors. Branch goal in the drive is $500.

The branch has also been active in a community educational program, presenting authorities in education, housing, labor, and industry at its public meetings.

The MONTCLAIR branch sponsored a freedom fund rally at the Union Baptist church on October 28, with James L. Hicks, managing editor of the New York *Amsterdam News,* as principal speaker. Many local churches, through their ministers, pledged contributions to Association work. Rev. D. C. Rice of the Union Baptist church, pledged $25; Rev. W. A. Harewood of St. Mark Methodist, $25; and Rev. Kelmo Porter, Jr., of Trinity Temple Church of God, $25.

The freedom fund rally was followed by a victory celebration for membership-campaign captains and workers at Sterington House. Merit certificates and NAACP pins were presented at this time to all workers who had brought in twenty-five or more members.

New York: Up in the BRONX the branch has launched a campaign, under the coordination of Elsie Carrington of the branch political action committee,

Layne's Studio

PREVIOUS *Spingarn medalists who attended the luncheon on December 8 honoring Mr. Robinson were (from L) Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, William Stanley Braithwaite, and Max Yergan. Mrs. Channing Tobias, wife of NAACP board chairman, Dr. Tobias, himself a Spingarn medalist, is seated at right.*

for revision of Senate Rule 22, the rule which makes Senate filibusters possible.

Over on Long Island the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch reports $340.80 net receipts for its fighting fund for freedom.

Branch elections were held on December 12. Mittie Leoquette, Amityville, won first prize in the branch turkey raffle. Incidentally, it must be reported that the Central Long Island branch publishes an informative, illustrated, two-color branch bulletin. Congratulations!

Pennsylvania: PHILADELPHIA branch membership-campaign workers were honored in November at the Men and Women's Day program at the Zion Baptist church. Mr. Harold Pilgrim, in presenting the trophies to the winners, thanked each of the eighteen persons for the major part he had played in giving the city its largest NAACP enrollment during the past eight years. The branch has, to date, approximately 10,300 members.

The following persons received 1956 trophies: Reba O. Bowie, area leader; Joseph Cronin, Fortune Harris, Thomas Little, district leaders; Rosa Pitts, Urias Oates, Mrs. Kay Richards, division leaders; Mrs. Sylvia Meeks, Mrs. Viola Allen, Mrs. Constance Watson, section leaders; George and Florence Farnum, Mary Benson, Susan Masseaux, block leaders; Beatrice Davenport, Edward Lindler, Thomas Little, solicitors; Edward Lindler, solicitor, largest over 100; and Zion Baptist church, as an organization.

Harold Benton received a trophy

(*Continued on page* 63)

STATE CONFERENCE—*Senior delegates who were in attendance at the annual meeting of the Ohio state conference of NAACP branches.* BOTTOM: *John Evans (L), president of the Corona-Elmhurst, New York, branch accepts $500 check from Lincoln Scott, president of the Clubmen of Corona, Inc., for paid-in-full NAACP life membership for the club.*

College and School News

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Two hundred and fifty items from the paintings of William H. Johnson went on exhibit on December 6 at the COUNTEE CULLEN BRANCH of the New York City public library in the most extensive one-man art exhibition the library has ever shown.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY has received a grant of $14,085.51 from the United Negro College Fund. The current allocation represents JCSU's share in the third distribution of funds made by UNCF to its 31 participating members this year. This brings the total amount received by JCSU to date to $38,279.41. The grant will be used by the university for operating expenses.

Dr. J. Ward Seabrook of Fayetteville, North Carolina, has been elected acting president of the university.

■

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, Gold Coast, West Africa, has announced the appointment of C. A. Ackah to the post of supervisor of students in the Gold Coast Students Unit, London, England, which became vacant when the previous supervisor, M. A. Ribeiro, was appointed Secretary for Recruitment last January. Mr. Ackah holds a B. A. honors degree and an M. A. from London university.

■

Charles L. Haynes, Jr., of Norfolk, Virginia, and a senior at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COL-

LEGE, recently had his poem, "A Void," accepted for publication in the *Annual Anthology of College Poetry* published by the National Poetry Association.

■

Fourteen leaders in different areas of social work discuss its relation to religion in a new book, *Religion and Social Work*, edited by F. Ernest Johnson, professor emeritus of education, TEACHERS COLLEGE, Columbia university.

"The symposium has a double purpose: to afford a perspective on the social welfare activities of American churches and synagogues, and to point up issues of theology and social policy that are giving concern to the ministry and lay leaders in relation to the social outreach of religion."

■

Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of the department of history at Brooklyn college, New York, addressed the ninth annual founder's day audience at NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE on November 5, 1956.

E. Frederick Morrow, administrative officer for the Special Projects Group, Executive Office of the President, was guest speaker in October at a meeting sponsored by the college forum committee.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY was host November 29-December 1 to the tenth annual conference of supervisors of field work. Virginia Tannar, professor of social work and director of field supervision and administrator of the case work program at the Western Reserve school of social work, was guest consultant. About twenty-five supervisors from ten states were in attendance.

Listed among recent guest speakers at the university are Carl T. Rowan, author of *The Pitiful and the Proud;* Dr. C. Vann Woodward, author of *The Strange Career of Jim Crow;* Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, a member of the facutly of Hunter college, New York City; and Carl Holman of the Clark college depart-

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ment of English.

Vivian Scott, brilliant American pianist, was presented in concert by the university alumni association on December 2 in support of the Walter Francis White scholarship, awarded annually by the association to a graduate student in sociology at the university.

■

Hobart Taylor, president of the H. T. Cab Company, Houston, Texas, has been appointed to the board of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, according to an announcement by Dr. F. D. Patterson, Fund president.

Senator John Sherman Cooper (Kentucky), former U. S. ambassador to India, was featured speaker at the 1956 UNCF symposium held on December 1 at the Hunter college assembly hall. He spoke on "Some International Aspects of American Race Relations."

■

The UNCF is currently distributing $450,000 to its member colleges for operating purposes. The money will be used by the thirty-one participating colleges for increasing faculty salaries, student scholarship programs, the purchase of library books, classroom and laboratory equipment, and student health programs.

■

SPELMAN COLLEGE presented three distinguished musicians in concert on November 30: Penelope Johnson, violinist; Robert Harris, pianist; and Thomas J. Donehee, tenor.

The fall season of the Atlanta-

Morehouse, Spelman Players opened November 19-20 with J. B. Priestly's *An Inspector Calls.*

Thirteenth annual Christmas carol concert by the Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman Chorus, with the Spelman college glee club and the Morehouse college glee club, was presented December 14-16 in the Sisters Chapel on the Spelman campus.

■

Dr. W. Napoleon Rivers, TALLADEGA COLLEGE class of '28, received a diploma, with honors, from the University of Paris last summer for work in French phonetics.

The Solomon Guggenheim Museum of New York City made possible a loan exhibit of distinguished artists for the Talladega campus, October 14, 1956—February, 1957. Among the artists represented are Paul Klee, Marc Chagall, Morris Graves, and Vassily Kandinsky.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY dedicated the Lawless Memorial Chapel October 23-24, 1955. The university is now distributing a handsomely printed and illustrated brochure containing the addresses and remarks made during the exercises.

The Dillard University Choir appeared on the NBC TV-program, *Wide, Wide, World,* on November 25. Under the direction of David L. Buttolph, the Choir sang "O, What a Beautiful City," "Ain-a Thata Good News," "Walk Together Children," and "Ev'ry Time I feel the Spirit."

■

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of Virginia State College and former

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Shaw president, was featured speaker at SHAW UNIVERSITY's ninety-first founder's day services.

Shaw has received a grant of $10,622.76 from the United Negro College Fund as its share in the third distribution of funds. The grant has been designated for operating purposes.

Ten Shaw students are included in the 1956-57 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges*. The group includes five seniors and five juniors. Two of the seniors, Helen Payne and Ralph Carson, are receiving the distinction for the second time.

Ivan I. Willis, vice-president in charge of industrial relations of International Harvester Company, Chicago, Illinois, addressed Shaw students on November 26 on the subject of job opportunities and job qualification.

■

Dr. Howard W. Becker, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, was third lecturer in the MOOREHOUSE COLLEGE fall series, December 5-6, 1956.

Morehouse will be ninety years old February 1957. A committee of the faculty, the board of trustees, and the student body has planned an elaborate celebration for the founder's day occasion.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY has received its share of the third allocation of funds from the United Negro College Fund. The university received $11,948.01 to be used for operating purposes.

Fifteen Virginia Union seniors are listed in the 1956-57 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges*.

The fifty-four-voice Virginia Union Choir recently completed a successful western tour, singing to capacity audiences in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. William J. Goodwin is choir director.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has been designated as a testing center for the 1957 nationwide administration of the National Teacher Examination on February 9.

Virginia State has been elected to full membership in the National Association of Schools of Music. The college became an associate member of the NASM at the annual meeting in November of 1954 and received the report of its being granted full membership at the opening session of the Cleveland meeting on November 23, 1956.

The college music faculty presented one of its members, Donald Barrett, pianist instructor of music, on December 2, 1956, in a program which included such masters as Bach, Debussy, Bartok and Franck.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE has enrolled twenty students from outside the continental United States. They come from Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Greece, Kenya, East Africa, Nigeria, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Bermuda, Bahamas, and Jamaica.

The Central State Choir appeared in its traditional Christmas concert on December 16, 1956, singing excerpts from George Handel's *Messiah*.

JAMES H. YOUNG

James H. Young, Newark, New Jersey, social worker, sociologist and teacher, has been appointed director of community activities for COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY's new Morningside Park Playfield. He will hold the rank of associate in the department of physical education. He assumed his new duties on January 1, 1957.

■

The once-yearly "behind the scenes" tour of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY to see how the world-famous exhibits are made was again offered on December 8, 1956. Through different exhibits in various stages of preparation, visitors were able to see the step-by-step process in the creation of habitat groups.

The obligation of the AMNH to support basic scientific research in the national interest and to provide education for each individual according to his needs are defined by Alexander M. White, president of the Museum board of trustees, and Dr. Albert E. Parr, director, in the eighty-seventh annual report of the Museum.

The report, which includes a historical survey of the Museum's educational services, reveals that the program which began with one class for thirty students has now achieved a recorded total of over 690,000,000 contacts through the use of every know teaching medium.

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Book Reviews

PERVASIVE RACIALISM

The Pitiful and the Proud. **By Carl T. Rowan. New York: Random House, 1956. X+432 pp. $5.00.**

The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference. **By Richard Wright. Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1956. 221 pp. $3.75.**

Here are the reports of two well known American writers about the same subject in a similar region of the world—Asia. Carl Rowan went to Asia under sponsorship of the U.S. State Department to lecture on "The Role of the Newspaper in Social Change," but he got so bogged down (as he traveled through India—which takes up half his book—Pakistan, and the nations of Southeast Asia) in trying to explain the problem of the Negro in America, that he almost never got around to adhering to his listed topic. Wherever he went he noticed that race was a dominant theme in the thinking of the Asians and they never intended to let him forget that he, too, was colored. Try as he might to defend what America was doing to make equality a reality for her Negro citizens, he seemingly always lost the argument; the mind of Asians is so corrupted from centuries of humiliation at the hands of Western Whites that in their newly found freedom their twisted mental processes simply refuse to accept facts clearly and plan for a sounder future for themselves based on the realities of life.

One continually gets the impression from *The Pitiful and the Proud* that Mr. Rowan was conscious of State Department personnel always hovering in the background—listening, watching, checking. The volume gives the impression the author said and did things as he was expected to say and do them, and the inner strength of honest expression so noteworthy in his report on Dixie, in *South of Freedom*, fails to come through. Here one finds, also, expressions of subtle ridicule at the expense of his Asian hosts we are accustomed to expect from misguided American whites; one can only wonder why Mr. Rowan felt constrained to such belittling.

The thing, however, that ties these two books together—aside from the common theme of an intense pervasive racial feeling—is the Bandung Conference that both authors attended as reporters. Here they both arrived at a similar conclusion: both found Asian masses "who seemed to have not the slightest knowledge of communism." Richard Wright, with his longer years of experience, deeper feeling, and own personal complexes, approached

the meeting almost entirely from a racial springboard. He lifts *The Color Curtain* through an analysis—somewhat like a psychiatrist—of personal reports from Asian individuals he interviewed in Europe beforehand. These persons, a mixture of Eastern and Western ways both racially and culturally, exhibited a confusion in purpose, thought, and ideas as to what Asia must do; yet underlying all is the bond of racial kinship that had drawn all these people together. He reports with sympathetic understanding and admiration what he felt was in the back of the minds of the Asian-African leaders who met in Indonesia in April, 1955, and he sensed there "a racial and religious system of identification manifesting itself in an emotional nationalism which was now leaping state boundaries and melting and merging, one into the other." Although Mr. Wright goes on to comment on communism at Bandung, race dominates his thinking, and he makes a telling point that motivating action in that part of the world today, "racial insults, slights, and offenses, no matter how trivial are hugged and nursed." The West would do well to keep this in mind as it attempts to heal the breach in the search for peace, and for unity with Asians.

Although these books are not profound nor make pretensions to such, yet they provide valuable insights into the minds of Asians, and are volumes the American layman, as well as experts, will find well worth reading because of the insights they provide in understanding the churning complexities that now engulf the peoples of the Far East.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

DR. HUGH H. SMYTHE *teaches anthropology and sociology at Brooklyn College, N. Y.*

BRIDGING THE GULF

***Africa's Challenge to America.* By Chester Bowles, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. XI+ 134 pp. $2.75.**

A few months ago in Kingston, during a discussion ranging from Algeria and Mau Mau to Autherine Lucy and the Montgomery bus boycott, a reporter on one of the Jamaica weeklies observed:

"People all over the world are tired of being lackeys. That's what much of the 'trouble' today is all about."

For the past several years Chester Bowles has valiantly tried to bridge a vast gulf that is simultaneously international, interracial and intercultural: the gulf between a billion colored "troublemakers" and an overprivileged Caucasian land which takes for granted the unbalanced world distribution of the good things in life.

Readers familiar with the unprecedented rapport Ambassador Bowles established with a skeptical and distrustful India will not be surprised by his more recent success in eliciting honest and frank answers from Africans. He fears, with Gandhi, that "the white man's pride of race may prove incurable." But verbatim conversations in the book make clear that the Africans he met accepted him intuitively as a man who has risen above ingrained Western myths of superiority. It is equally apparent that he did not limit his contacts to the safe, "good" and hand-picked Africans whom the colonial press officers palm off on gullible visiting firemen.

To Mr. Bowles the challenge of Africa consists of two parts. First, there is the challenge, however painful, to look nationalism in the eye and learn what makes it tick. At several points he reiterates that the foreign-policy problems created by nationalism are not made in Moscow. In one of several swipes at policymakers in Washington

he dismisses this oversimplification which, he writes, "presumably led Mr. Dulles . . . to suggest that the Soviet Union is *creating* the revolutionary unrest which is now keeping so much of Africa in ferment."

The second part of the challenge involves an eleventh-hour need to formulate, with humility, a political and economic program to satisfy the Revolution of Rising Expectations. In a continent 95 per cent illiterate many Africans just assume that, come the day of independence and self-determination, the higher living standards to which they aspire will be delivered to them, neatly packaged and ready to be savored. Faced with unrealistic demands from their people and only a limited time in which to meet them, newly independent governments will be particularly vulnerable to the Communists when the disillusionment of the rank-and-file freedom fighters sets in. The people, Bowles writes, will be "harried by their own fellow-African landlords, tax collectors, lawyers and entrepreneurs, many of whom will be at least as ruthless in their methods of exploitation as the Europeans." After the transfer of power the author expects that the level of governmental efficiency will go down. Unlike India, which has concentrated so much energy on decentralized village reconstruction, most of Africa's schemes for development call for direction at the center. A decline in administrative efficiency in the capitals will therefore render that much more difficult the attacks on poverty and squalor and illiteracy in the countryside.

Overwhelming though the problems be, Mr. Bowles does not suggest that our Point Four experts and Office of Education draw up ambitious blueprints for presentation to African leaders with an all-too-familiar American presumptuousness. In "Teahouse of the August Moon" we saw the futility of the "Plan B" approach, and we are forewarned that the situation in Africa is not a simple one that will respond quickly to good will, money, and new slogans. Indeed, Mr. Bowles declares that the American impact will at most be marginal. He spent sufficient time in India to realize the sensitiveness of any people just emerging from colonial status and determined to make their own mistakes for a change. Rather than an effort to spell out a unilateral made-in-Washington program his book is a plea to Americans to wipe clean the slate of preconceptions and color hauteur, to cast aside our cold-war, one-track approach to the mineral-rich continent, and to prepare to work as partners with proud Africans who have no time to be choosing sides in the East-West struggle.

Mr. Bowles appears to be less than optimistic about a change in Western policies earnest enough and rapid enough to help African leaders cope with clear and present crises of land hunger in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, tribalism in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, and color bars in many parts of the continent. In the Belgian Congo he asked the governor-general what it would take to put that colony and its uranium under Communist rule. The reply: "One hundred thousand white European settlers."

Still another Belgian colonial official told what he would do if he were governor of Kenya. "I would float a loan, buy the land, and move the white settlers out—even if it required all the NATO armies. If the settlers are allowed to keep control, they will bring all of Africa tumbling down about our ears."

Because Mr. Bowles has so often been prescient about the colonial world his views in this book deserve a respectful hearing now before new calamities are upon us. A foreword to the book reminds us that in April 1942 the

author proposed that Roosevelt and Churchill (or Roosevelt alone if the King's First Minister refused to accede) expand the Atlantic Charter to include the colonial areas. In 1952 and 1953, while serving as ambassador to India, he predicted a new era of "ruble diplomacy—a prophecy widely ridiculed until the traveling troupe of B & K whistle-stopped through Asia, ladling out aid agreements at every capital.

In his present book I was glad that he noted one sidelight of the Asian-African Conference which, at the time, received far too little attention. He writes of "the curious mixture of self-deception, nervousness and arrogance" with which the Atlantic powers viewed the gathering. Washington's nervousness and guilty anticipation of anti-Americanism were so profound that Bandung was overrun with obnoxious "correspondents" clumsily ferreting out intelligence which was readily available in the pages of *The New York Times*. In the weeks before Bandung, when word got around that several colored Americans were dollar-deep in these fake journalistic assignments, African delegations at the United Nations rushed to Negro newsmen and said: "Please say it isn't so."

In a concluding argument for reassessment and rethinking in Washington the author dismisses as futile and outmoded the present reliance on *Realpolitik*. He then goes on to observe:

"Such factors as people, ideas and faith are emerging as major and often decisive components of national power. Moral considerations, always fundamental in shaping individual human behavior, have therefore, become crucial elements in determining relationships between whole peoples.

"Of one thing I am sure: if American foreign policy continues to fly in the face of these ideological forces, it will ultimately come to grief."

WILLIAM WORTHY

WILLIAM WORTHY, *the well-known foreign correspondent, globe-trotter, Crisis contributor, and a former Nieman fellow, is now in China.*

***The Lion of Judah Has Prevailed:* Being a biography of H. I. M. Selassie I. By Christine Sandford. New York: Macmillan Co., 1956. xi+192 pp. $3.75.**

***Libya:* The New Arab Kingdom of North Africa. By Henry S. Villard. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956. xvi+169 pp. $2.75.**

***"Africa and the Western World."* Special issue of THE ANNALS. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1956. vii+181 pp. $2.00.**

Here are three more volumes in our continuing reports about Africa. The biography of the Emperor of Ethiopia is the story of a man of firm determination, solemn mien, and consistent purpose. The author, an ardent admirer of her subject and a person who lived many years in Ethiopia close to the royal family, has given us a picture in elementary composition of the history of this mountain African kingdom and what transpired in its development up to the present. Here are the troubles Selassie encountered as he struggled to better himself and lift the under developed nation from the drag of centuries of feudal tradition and the superstitious lag of illiterate subjects. This is a remarkable canvas of the function-

ing of a small nation amidst the intrigues of large ones on the world scene as reflected in Selassie's consolidation of the motley population into a unified whole, the chicaneries of international political intrigue, military conflict, pathos and courageous personal strength exhibited in his League of Nations plea in 1936, return to Ethiopia during World War II, and what he has done since then to modernize and make his country a part of twentieth century life. When asked to make a prediction of its future on the silver jubilee of his reign he said, "He discussed all that he wished to do with the 'balabats' [hereditary chiefs and landowners], and could proceed only so far as he could carry them with him." Mrs. Sanford has chronicled well and given insights into the astute nature of this minor world character whose stature deserves major treatment both as a statesman and personality.

Leaving the ancient kingdom of the "Lion of Judah" and moving westward we find a recently created one in the volume on *Libya*. This is a personal report of the first United States Minister to the new nation that emerged as a result of the selfish interests of big powers (mainly British and French) after the recent war who could not agree on the disposition of this former Italian colony. It details briefly Libya's early and more recent history, describes the geography and mentions the people, the poverty and paucity of natural resources for shoring up the economy, and optimistically points up problems to be solved in a land mostly desert with an almost totally illiterate population. This brief glance at a North African nation, in which parochialism of political districts slows unity, is a good introduction for the layman who would know something about this post-war-created state with twin capital cities. A list of suggested readings and an index make it a very useful monograph.

More encompassing than the two previous books are the data in the special issue of *The Annals* which covers papers presented at the sixtieth annual meeting of the Academy. The material includes articles on the struggles in North Africa, race relations in the southern part of the continent, its significance in world affairs, prospects for democracy and self-government and problems related to the latter, and America's relations with Africa. Prepared by students on African affairs largely conversant with their specialties through field experience, the volume is an excellent addition to the growing literature about a part of the world whose real significance is gradually becoming recognized. The usually fine list of book reviews and helpful index round out the volume and make it a useful source for research or popular understanding of current affairs in selected parts of contemporary Africa.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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BRANCH NEWS

(*Continued from page* 50)

for the first Masonic district. And Dr. Herry Greene was presented with a $500 NAACP life membership plaque by the branch for his years of service.

Wisconsin: The MILWAUKEE branch held annual elections on December 9 at the Masonic Hall.

TRINIDADIAN PARLIAMENT

(*Continued from page* 16)

candidates captured the remaining seats.

Under the present Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago the Legislative Council is comprised of thirty-one members. Twenty-four are elected by the people; two are ex-officio—the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General, and the Governor nominates five members to the House.

PNM DEMANDS

This being the case it meant that the P.N.M., while having a majority among the electives, did not command a majority in the entire Legislature.

When Governor, Sir Edward Beetham, called on Dr. Williams as leader of the majority party in the Legislature to form a government, the little doctor told the Governor that he would only form a Cabinet if he (the Governor) appointed at least three pro-P.N.M. men which would give his party the required majority to run the Government.

The P.N.M. chief's demands nearly precipitated a constitutional crisis, but the Governor saw the wisdom in his demands and nominated three P.N.M. men to the Legislature.

Thus the P.N.M. with Dr. Williams elected as prime minister took over the reins of government in Trinidad and Tobago giving Negroes the right to administer their own internal affairs for the first time in their centuries old struggle for self-determination.

Seven members of the ten-man Executive Council which will run the Colony for the next five years are Negroes: They are Dr. Williams, chief minister, who also takes the portfolio of finance planning and development; John O'Halloran, minister of industry and commerce; Dr. Patrick Solomon, minister of education and leaders of the House; Learie Constantine, onetime great international cricketer, was elected minister of communication, works and public utilities; Donald Granado, minister of Labor; Gerard Montano, minister of housing and local government; and Dr. Ada Date, special government diplomatic representative.

Dr. Winston Mahabir, and Kalumuddin Mohammed, East Indian legislators of the P.N.M. were also given ministerial portfolios.

It was more than fitting that Mortimer Duke, a British Guianese-born Negro, who is one of the outstanding justices in the British Commonwealth of Nations, should have become the first elected Speaker of the Trinidad Legislature.

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. . . and filled it!

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